

## Message Text

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46

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 EB-07

OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05 IO-13 COME-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 CCO-00 /090 W

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O 141335Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2681

USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

UNCLAS DAR ES SALAAM 3388

USINFO FOR IPS/PA, IBS/PA, IAA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, TZ, US

1. ON EVE OF ARRIVAL OF SECRETARY AT DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIAN INFORMATION SERVICE, A BRANCH OF TANZANIAN MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, ISSUED TO PRESS AN UNSIGNED ARTICLE ENTITLED "SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY: THE POSITIVE AND THE NEGATIVE," CALLING ON US TO STATE THAT IF PEACEFUL EFFORTS TO BRING MAJORITY RULE IN AFRICA FAIL BECAUSE OF RACIST INTRANSIGENCE, THEN US WILL BE ON SIDE OF THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. ARTICLE SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. ARTICLE NOTES THAT 1974-75 EFFORTS OBTAIN PEACEFUL CHANGE TO MAJORITY RULE FAILED BECAUSE OF SMITH'S INTRANSIGENCE AND LACK OF UNITY AMONG ZIMBABWXRFECTIONALISTS. NOW THERE ARE TWO NEW FACTORS: THE UNITED ZIMBABWE PEOPLES ARMY (ZIPA) AND SECRE-  
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TARY KISSINGER'S INITIATIVE; CAN THEY BE XNBINED TO BRING

PEACEFUL TRANSITION IN RHODESIA?

3. US INITIATIVE HAS POSITIVE ASPECTS WHICH CAUSES TANZANIA AND FRONTLINE STATES TO WELCOME KISSINGER, NAMELY: AMERICAN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; AMERICAN PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF APARTHEID; AND AMERICAN ABILITY TO APPLY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES.

4. BUT THERE IS ALSO NEGATIVE ASPECT WHICH HAS CAUSED VORSTER AND SMITH TO WELCOME US INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY HOPE US WILL ULTIMATELY SUPPORT THEM BECAUSE OF: COLD WAR AGAIN COMMUNISM; AMERICA'S DESIRE TO PREVENT "MEN WITH THE GUNS" FROM TAKING OVER IN AFRICA; SOUTH AFRICAN AND RHODESIAN PRETENSIONS TO FIGHT COMMUNISM; AND THE SUPPORT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS RECEIVED FROM COMMUNISTS. THEREFORE, SOUTH AFRICANS AND RHODESIANS HOPE THAT US WILL IDENTIFY FREEDOM FIGHTERS AS COMMUNISTS AND EVENTUALLY COME TO THEIR AID.

5. A SECOND NEGATIVE ASPECT IS THAT KISSINGER'S MEETINGS WITH VORSTER MAKE HIM APPEAR A RESPECTABLE STATESMAN, DESPITE THE SOWETO KILLINGS.

6. IF SMITH REMAINS INTRANSIGENT AND RHODESIAN NATIONALIST POLITICIANS REMAIN DISUNITED, AMERICA WILL HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN MINORITY RULE AND SUPPORTING A TAKEOVER OF POWER BY THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO END THE WAR. ON WHICH SIDE WILL POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SIDES OF AMERICAN INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WEIGH?

7. POSITIVE FACTORS INCLUDE THE FACT THAT REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA TURNED TO AID FROM THE ROYALTY BIG POWER FRANCE, WHICH DID NOT SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WITHOUT THEREBY BECOMING A FRENCH PUPPET. SO HOW CAN AMERICA ARGUE THAT FREEDOM FIGHTERS WILL TURN INTO RUSSIAN OR CHINESE PUPPETS?

8. MOREOVER, AND MORE CONTEMPORARILY, US HAS MADE CLEAR STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF MAJORITY RULE. KISSINGER HAS SAID US NOT SEEKING ESTABLISH PUPPET REGIMES IN AFRICA; US GOVERNMENT DOES FIGHT AGAINST RACISM INSIDE AMERICA; AMERICANS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY ARE NOT GOING TO ALLOW US GOVERNMENT TO DRIFT INTO ANOTHER LOCAL WAR ON PLEA OF FIGHTING COMMUNISM.

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9. ON NEGATIVE SIDE, US HAS MASSIVE INVESTMENTS AND TRADE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BYRD AMENDMENT HAS NOT BEEN REPEALED, AND US HAS REFUSED AID TO MOZAMBIQUE BECAUSE OF ITS SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS, EVEN THOUGH KISSINGER HAD CALLED ON RHODESIA'S NEIGHBORS TO CLOSE THEIR BORDERS.

10. US GOVERNMENT HAS SAID IT IS AGAINST RACISM AND COLONIALISM,

AND KISSINGER HAS SAID HIS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS SEEK PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER QUICKLY. WHY CANNOT US GOVERNMENT ALSO SAY THAT IF PEACEFUL TRANSFER IS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF INTRANSIGENCE OF RACISTS, THEN AMERICA WILL BE ON SIDE OF THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM? SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD DISHEARTEN VORSTER AND SMITH AND MAKE PEACEFUL SOLUTION MORE LIKELY, AND ALSO ASSUAGE AFRICAN SUSPICIONS. IT WOULD NOT INVOLVE US TO JOIN ARMED STRUGGLE; FREE AFRICA AND FREEDOM FIGHTERS DO NOT WANT "NON-AFRICAN FORCES FROM ANYWHERE" ("ANYWHERE" UNDERLINED). ALL THEY WANT IS WHEREWITHAL TO CONDUCT THEIR OWN FIGHT, AND ABSENCE OF SUPPORT FOR RACISTS.

11. "CAN AMERICA," ARTICLE CONCLUDES, "MAKE THE POSITIVE CHOICE?"

12. ACCORDING PRESIDENT NYERERE'S PRESS SECRETARY, ARTICLE REPRESENTS VIEWS OF TANZANIA AND OTHER FRONTLINE AFRICAN STATES.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PRESS RELEASES, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 SEP 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 3  
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**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** vandyklc  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 FEB 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 FEB 2004 by MaustMC>; APPROVED <26 AUG 2004 by vandyklc>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** OVIP, PFOR, TZ, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** SECRETARY AIRCRAFT  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006